THE SECOND WAY (VIEWED FROM THE STANDPOINT OF THE INITIAL STEPS)

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1. Mobilizing national resources: enriched, capable government
   a. High tax take
      i. stage 1 – regressive taxation: indirect tax on consumption
      ii. stage 2 – progressive tax on individual consumption and inherited wealth
   b. High-level civil service

2. Mobilizing national resources: saving and production
   a. Protective shield against volatile capital
   b. Progressive mandatory pension saving, progressively proportional to income (“defined-contribution” system with redistributive mechanism)
   c. Tightening of links between savings and production
      i. Within established capital markets
      ii. Outside capital market – e.g., public venture capital

3. Democratizing the market economy: bridging vanguards and rearguards
   a. Stage I: Extending access to credit, technology, expertise
   b. Stage II: Decentralized, experimentalist strategic coordination between government and business: intermediate centers and funds
      Consolidate productive vanguard and deepen its links with rearguard.
      To this end, reject choice between arm’s length regulation, centralized trade and industrial policy: multiple independent entities between governments and firms
   c. Stage III: Alternative regimes of private and social property.

4. Democratizing the market economy: enhancing returns to labor and deepening the domestic markets
   a. Relatively high minimum wage and national work projects and/or publicly supported caring economy
   b. Solidaristic wage bargaining combined with legal regulation
   c. Profit-sharing

5. Democratizing the market economy: imposing “capitalism” on “capitalists”
   a. Radicalizing domestic competition
b. Ensuring the primacy of productive interest over rentier interests, qualified by commitment to enhance domestic saving-investment cycle

6. Democratizing the market economy: subordinating the external to the internal: conditional integration in world economy on terms convenient to national project
   a. Reinventing import substitution: export-led growth and import substitution combined
   b. Under circumstances of conditional openness and international benchmarking
   c. In context of the extension of social base of productive vanguards
   d. Fighting for alternative program of world trade and pluralistic reorganization of Bretton Woods system

7. Social policy as educational and economic empowerment of individual
   a. Educational equipment
      i. Double minima of investment and performance
      ii. Supervisory/corrective structure of flexible federalism (Overseen and executed by transfederal bodies)
      iii. Focus on generic capacities
   b. Economic equipment: towards social inheritance, e.g., social endowment accounts

8. Organizing civil society
   a. The caring “economy” and the basis of social solidarity
      i. Development of “caring economy”
      ii. Organization of work time between production and caring economies
      iii. Mandatory social service
   b. Private law plus one: strengthening resource base of voluntary association: e.g. through independent public-foundation grants
   c. Public-law minus one: nongovernmental framework for independent self-organization of civil society, with rights to opt out of this framework

9. Deepening democracy: high-energy politics
   a. Sustained heightening of organized civic engagement: high level of organized civic engagement, media, parties
   b. Bias toward reform capability: constitutional arrangements combining plebiscitarian potency and rapid resolution of impasse: comprehensive programmatic plebiscites and early elections in the face of impasse.